2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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So he rushed into his father's lodge, but another of his sisters-in-law went in and saw him sitting down, and said to me: 'You two have lost, and we have won, because your partner sat down first.' Since I didn't have anything to put up as fine, my husband's brother pulled my eyebrows out, as was customary when a person couldn't pay a debt of this kind. My partner, however, gave a feast prepared by his mother as payment, but failed to include me. I got even with him by coming up behind him one day shortly thereafter and emptying a pail of water over his head."

Whether he liked it or not, a man had to take without complaint whatever kind of speech or action his own brother directed towards his wife, and likewise a woman had to put up with whatever her sister said or did to her husband. Men who were married to sisters considered each other as "brothers" rather than as brothers-in-law, just as women married to brothers were "sisters" and not sisters-in-law.

Inseparable-friends

As broadly as kinship bonds were conceived among the Gros Ventres in both consanguineal and affinal relationships, kinship behavior and obligations were extended even more widely through the institution of "inseparable-friends." Coming Daylight explained this as follows: "If two men are *inithlha* this means that they have grown up together and are the same as brothers although they are not really kin to each other. The children of these two men would be the same as brothers and sisters to each other and could not marry. All relatives of 'inseparable-friends' were considered as own relatives. Crow's Bull's 'inseparable-friend' was Truth. He knew all the songs that belonged to the Flat Pipe because Crow Bull was Keeper and the two were so much together. Truth always called Crow Bull's son 'son,' and he called me 'niece' because Crow Bull was my mother's brother. A woman could tease the 'inseparable-friend' of her husband in just the same way she could tease her brother-in-law."

Cora illustrated how complicated relationships could become through the inseparable-friendship. "My brother and Arthur Skinner were such friends, which made Arthur my 'brother.' When Arthur married I should normally have taken his wife as 'sister-

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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in-law.' The difficulty was that this woman Arthur married was already my 'aunt' because her father and my own were 'inseparable-friends.' Maybe in the old days Arthur couldn't have married her. But anyway we solved the situation by letting the older relationship take precedence over the newer one, so I called her 'aunt' rather than 'sister-in-law.'"

Some other pairs of "inseparable-friends," who were mentioned, were Cora's maternal grandfather and Consume It; Dressed In White and Ibe; Curley Head and Eagle Child. It was stated that while one friend was supposed to offer his life for the other in case of necessity, it did not always work out this way and at least one example was given to prove the point.

Regarding the same type of institutionalized friendship between women, the evidence is not clear. Singer stated: "When they use the word *itóhaha* it means that the two women concerned were friends from early childhood to the end of their lives. I had a friend like that. The father of that girl considered me as his own daughter and I had to respect her brother all my life. This girl was a cousin of Coming Daylight and we two were closer than sisters because we were the same age. We played together, worked together and did everything together. We used to eat at each other's homes, and we kept in touch after marriage by visiting back and forth." Coming Daylight suggested that these two were such close friends because their fathers may have been "inseparable-friends" and she denied that two women would participate in a relationship of the kind which would bind their families together independently of formalized friendship between men. No further information was obtained on this aspect of the subject.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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informed one, feasting them and also, *de regueur*, giving payment in valuable goods for each bit of instruction received. In these instruction sessions, the last keeper usually played the leading role, but the others would coach and correct when necessary or one of them if better informed on this or that point might teach while the last keeper took a back seat. The retiring co-keeper did most of the instruction of the new co-keeper. The Feathered Pipe keeper co-keeper, ex-keepers, and ex-co-keepers would commonly sit in at these sessions, but only as guests, without taking part in the instruction. Lame Bull, when first made keeper, got a great deal of his instruction from Deer, an earlier exceptionally well informed keeper.

A ritual relationship was contracted between the new keeper and co-keeper on the one hand and the ex-keeper and ex-co-keepers on the other. All the ex-keepers become "grandfathers" to the new keeper and co-keeper; all the ex-co-keepers, "grandmothers" to them; and are so addressed by these names respectively. The retiring keeper and co-keeper became, as it were, principal "grandfather" and "grandmother" respectively. This sacred relationship was looked upon as very like that between grandparents and grandchildren by blood. Privileged familiarity in the way of vulgar talk and banter, between these ritual grandparents and grandchildren, obtained, but not quite the large degree of freedom that obtained between grandparents and grandchildren by blood.[1] The ritual "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" also had certain recognized powers of control over their "grandchildren": if, for instance, one of these "grandsons" went on a berserk rampage and was about to kill a fellow-tribesman, and his own father and mother could not bring him to reason, one of the ritual grandfathers might be called in to reason with his grandson and the latter would have to abandon his angry murderous design.

Keeper's Lodge

The Flat Pipe keeper's lodge was a large one, undecorated on the outside except for a portion painted red around the door.

[1] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 121-22.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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575 701 *796 did not constitute such. Their grouping was a purely temporary one, lasting only for the duration of the Dance. During, for instance, the Crazy Dance, all who joined in it, both members of the vower's company and others, were called Crazy Dancers, but once the Dance was over, they ceased to be such; there was no permanent organization or society of Crazy Dancers.

608 *796 A first step which a man who had vowed a Sacred Dance had to take was to fill an ordinary pipe, go to a man who had gone through the rite in fulfillment of a vow and who knew the rite well, and offer him the pipe, saying: "Here is the pipe. You will be my 'grandfather.'" By accepting the pipe,—and he could hardly refuse,—the latter became the vower's ritual "grandfather." At the same time the "grandfather's" wife became the vower's "grandmother," and both the vower and his wife (or wives) became "grandchildren" of the "grandfather" and his wife, and they addressed one another respectively by these names. The vower himself was in charge of the Dance and of the preparations therefor. The "grandfather's" role was that of liturgist, to instruct the vower in the ceremonies and observances proper to the given Lodge, and to see that they were carried out correctly. By way of exception, for the Old Women's Dance there were "grandmothers," but no "grandfathers."

When a given individual vowed one of the Sacred Lodges, other individuals could join with him in the rite, and each of these others would also choose a "grandfather,"—one who had participated in the given Dance,—with whom he (and his wife) would contract the same sacred relationship and who would perform the same offices. No person could be "grandfather" to more than one vower or associate on the occasion of any one dance.[1] The "grandfathers" would usually be older than the participants but not by any means necessarily very old men.

If, however, a younger man offered a pipe to a very feeble old man whose memory of the rites was poor, the old man might accept the pipe and so become the younger man's "grandfather."

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[1] In 1948, The Boy indicated that for the Crazy Dance at least two younger men might together approach an older man and have him act as their ritual grandfather if he accepted them. [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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The old man, however, might and commonly would appeal to another old man, who knew the Dance rites well even though he might never have vowed the dance, to double for him in seeing that the rite was properly carried out.

A keeper of one of the sacred Pipes, or at least of the Flat or Feathered Pipe, could not, during his term of office, function as "grandfather" at a sacred Lodge, but an ex-keeper could.

The relationship between ceremonial grandfather or grandmother and grandchild was a sacred one. Between such grandparent and grandchild a certain respect behavior had to be observed, and either was obligated not to refuse a request of the other.

Gambling, for instance, between them, or apparently even playing on opposite sides in a non-gambling hand game, was improper. Between blood grandparents and grandchildren a distinct joking relationship obtained,[6] not however between ritual grandparents and grandchildren, although our field evidence is not entirely consistent. According to one good informant, between these latter, telling vulgar jokes and stories, teasing about lovers, and so forth, were taboo; according to another, a little freedom in such matters was allowed, but not as much as was allowed and practiced between blood grandparents and grandchildren.

As regards, however, the much more significant mutual obligation of ceremonial grandparents not to refuse requests of grandchildren, our field data are entirely consistent and clear. This mutual obligation was rigidly lived up to and played a very important role in Gros Ventre social life. This role may best be illustrated by the following actual case.

Once Iron Woman, Crow Bull's wife, ran away with Kitfox. When people noticed she was gone, they said: "Oh, she must have run away again with somebody." Before she ran away this time, Crow Bull had said: "If she runs away again, there will be trouble." So people went to Black Raven, Kitfox's father, to tell him that his son was suspected and that there would probably be trouble. When Iron Woman and Kitfox came back, Crow Bull seized his loaded gun and dashed out as if he were going to kill

[6] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 121-22.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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608 them. Crow Bull's ceremonial grandson, whom he had instructed during the Crazy Dance and who was a relative of Black Raven, heard about this and ran in front of Crow Bull, saying: "Grandfather, don't do anything," and grabbed him just when he was about to fire. So Crow Bull said: "All right, because my grandchild stopped me." Then the relatives of Black Raven collected horses and blankets and other valuables, the young man himself contributing a blanket, and they all marched to Crow Bull's lodge carrying the goods and leading the horses. On arrival at the lodge, the guilty lover went in first with the fine blanket he was giving and did a great thing. He covered White Skunk, Crow Bull's "dearly-loved child"[7] with this blanket. So Crow Bull could hardly do or say anything. He just said, "Well, I will leave it up to my son White Skunk, whatever he says, I will do." White Skunk then said: "Just give her (Iron Woman) to that man (Kitfox). Just let her go," and that is what Crow Bull did. He got all these horses and blankets and other things in payment.[8] Thus even though Crow Bull was so angry, his "grandchild" could stop him.

[586] If a woman left her husband, and her "grandfather" went to her and told her to go back to her husband for she had nothing to get mad about, she would have to do so no matter how much she dreaded it.

608 682 If one Gros Ventre had murdered another, and the relatives of the murdered person were afraid to approach the victim's father to offer indemnity, they could offer a pipe to any one of the father's ceremonial grandfathers. If the grandfather accepted it, he prayed with it and smoked it. When the murderer's relatives were ready with horses and clothing for payment, the grandfather would lead the relatives to his grandson, the murdered person's father, and say to him: "I have brought these people who ask your forgiveness. They are bringing these horses and blankets to you. I am asking you as my 'grandchild' to accept." The father could not refuse, for if he refused, some evil would overtake him. Actually refusals to such requests by a "grandfather" did not occur, to our informants' knowledge.

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[7] For details on the dearly-loved child, see Flannery, 1941, pp. 33-37.

[8] For a discussion of indemnity in case of adultery see Flannery, 1953, pp. 185-88; for indemnity in case of murder, idem, p. 45.

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Two general aspects of this socio-ceremonial relationship were discussed in detail with The Boy: the obligation not to refuse requests, and the possibility of abuses arising under the system which for the rest had obvious social values in solving conflicts and preventing bloodshed.

What lay back of the sense of obligation to grant requests? The offered pipe was the central symbol, whether offered once for all at the time the ceremonial relationship was first contracted or offered on a specific occasion to a "grandfather" or "grandson" not the offerer's own. The ordinary pipe as offered in either case was looked upon as a sacred thing, as symbolic or representative of the sacrosanct Flat Pipe and/or Feathered Pipe which had been given by the Supreme Being as the most powerful media to pray with, as the most assured means of getting a hearing from the Supreme Being. The offered common pipe was a sort of substitute in the case for the sacred Pipes themselves. The "grandfather" or prospective "grandfather" on accepting the offered pipe, would always pray reverently with it to the Supreme Being before smoking it. If he once accepted the office of "grandfather" to another, he realized that he was assuming all the responsibilities that went with it, among them that of never refusing a request made by his "grandson" without a pipe, or by another with a pipe to intercede with his grandson. It was a sort of implicit sacred pledge into which the Supreme Being himself entered, at least indirectly. He knew that if he ever refused such a request, harm would come to him in some form: he would have to pay the price of his refusal, to suffer the consequences. Whether such consequences would follow automatically or by action of the Supreme Being or other beings is not clear from our field data, but in any case they were in some sense "supernaturally" caused. If people heard that a "grandfather" had refused a request made to him by his "grandson," they would say: "He (the 'grandfather') has sealed his fate." They would immediately lose their good opinion of him,—a social sanction added to the supernatural one,—and would look for some misfortune to befall him sooner or later. If soon after the refusal, evil did befall him, death or other grave mishap, they would say: "That's because he refused his grandson."

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The problem of possible abuses of the system was explained by The Boy along the following lines. "First of all if an old man had become my 'grandfather' only recently, say just last week and I were a young man, no one would ordinarily ask me to appeal for him to my 'grandfather.' By strict right I could do so, and if no one else were available, I might be asked, but as an 'amateur,' as one lacking in experience, I would not be a good person to ask. An older, more experienced 'grandson' would be asked."

Besides choosing a "grandfather" the vower also selected, as a herald or crier for the Dance, some intelligent old man gifted as an orator. The crier's chief task was to walk or ride around the camp before and during the Dance announcing to the people whether the group would move and other decisions and agreements covering preparations for and procedure during the dance.

If the bands happened to be scattered at the time a sacred Dance was to be held, runners were sent by the vower to bid them foregather for the Dance. All members of the tribe were obliged to attend the Sacrifice and Crazy Dances, and pretty surely the Drum, Kit-fox and Dog Dances. As regards the Fly Dance, this was ordinarily held in connection with one of the other Dances, so everybody would be present anyhow. As regards the Old Men's and Old Women's Dances, they were not so lively or colorful, and were held a little apart and the people did not take much interest in them and "did not go much" to them; attendance was apparently not required.

If any individual or group failed to come when summoned, the vower would request the soldiers of the Stars or Wolves as the case might be, compel attendance.[8] Even a war party could not start out if some one had vowed a dance and it was about ready to begin. So much for the types or personnel,—vower, associates, age-groups, ceremonial "grandfathers," criers, police, and "congregation,"—more or less common to all the Sacred Lodges. Personnel peculiar to particular Dances will be taken up later when each is described. Before describing the Dances one by one, some ritual observances common to all or many of them may be noted.

After the vower of a Dance had chosen his ritual grandfather

[8] For a detailed illustration of this point, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 49-51.

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When, consequently, a Crazy Dance was in the offing, older men who learned that they might be asked to be ritual grandfathers were very apt to run away and hide. But they could not sleep forever out on the hills, and when they came home, they would be stalked and caught by surprise, by day or night, and offered a pipe by an individual or group of two to four who intended to participate in the coming Dance. The group had secretly convened and decided on their grandfather. Finally bringing a filled pipe with them they would go to his lodge and walk in. The older man would then be practically trapped, for in accordance with the general Gros Ventre pattern an offered pipe could hardly be refused. He might wilt and long hesitate, sitting with bowed head while the visitors entreated him to accept and to help them carry out their part in the Dance.

If on any occasion in the past he had had sex relations with any of these men's wives, either before or after their marriage to them, he would, when offered the pipe, be sacredly obligated to make indirect confession of the fact by refusing the pipe and saying to them (or to the individual young man, if the latter was alone), "My grandchildren, you are stillborn. I cannot serve as your grandfather," or "Go to somebody else. She is not your wife," or using some similar circumlocution. Such a reply might cause great embarrassment and worry to the young man, who perhaps had never suspected his wife.[1] Failure to confess would be "something wrong, a violation of belief or important custom" and would be followed by misfortune, even early death.

If when offered the pipe, stem first, the older man accepted it, and with it the office of grandfather, he would get up and say to the offerer: "All right, we will go outside." After they got outside the lodge the old man would say: "Now, young man, face east." The older man would stand behind him, holding the pipe stem up, and pronounce the vow, "A woman is being offered so that such-and-such a person will recover from sickness and get well. We are going to have a Crazy Dance. He [the young man]

[1] The Arapaho custom in this matter was quite similar, we were told by an Arapaho woman, the widow of a Gros Ventre, who was present while we were discussing the point.

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says this to You [Supreme Being]," and at the end would say four times, "Yo-o-o-o-o-o." Then (or perhaps before this pronouncement rite) the older man smoked the pipe. The grandfather was free to recruit an assistant, usually a younger man than himself, to help him paint the vower and the vower's wife. The several functions of the grandfather,—instructing, painting, feeding, gift-making, and especially the sex test,—will be described as we go along.

If the chief vower or any members of the groups of two to four dancers had younger brothers of, say, about 7 to 10 years of age, these latter could be brought into the dance as "Little Crazy Boys." These young boys were painted, were present all through the rite, and served as pages or messengers. If, for instance, a grandfather did not know exactly how body painting at a particular juncture should be done, the Little Crazy Boys would be sent around to get the information. They did not, however, participate in major features of the rite, such as jumping in the fire and so forth.

The making of the vow to hold the Crazy Dance and the securing of the ceremonial grandfathers were done quietly and privately. The public phase of the dance began with the formal announcement.

A crier (or criers) would go around the camp advertising the dance and talking it up, with exhortations such as: "Now you young men who are going to dance, fix up your hearts, be men, be strong, be men and join the dance, go through with it. Be men, don't be weaklings. But think it all over well before you join. This red paint is rough (said figuratively to imply: your wife is involved, you will have to give her away, to expose her to a severe test.)" As previously mentioned there was apt to be a certain resistance on the part of the younger men, to this "sales pressure," and a touch of cynicism as well.

The Crazy Dance was usually held about June when the buffalo had fattened up well, or else a little later, about August. In case the people happened to be scattered at the time, runners were sent out to bid them foregather. The chief vower or the one who accepted the challenge put up his lodge in the center of the camp circle, and this served as executive headquarters of his council and age-group until and during the dance.

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*796 they would all be in camp anyhow. Our informants made no mention of criers or police in connection with the Fly Dance.

Ordinarily the Fly Dance was supposed to be gone through first, before any of the other sacred dances, but there were exceptions, as in the case of Turn Toes who joined the Crazy Dance first when he was a young man and the Fly Dance only after he was an old man. Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man, never joined the Fly Dance.[26]

[561] [883] The Fly Dance was usually performed by youths, mostly young unmarried fellows of the age range of about 16 to 20 years as nearly as we could determine. With the chief vower would be associated in the dance all the members of his own age-group or company (e.g., all the "Potbellies"), and apparently no others. They would carry it out in a body.

No women joined the dance. But, according to Coming Daylight, if a woman's son was participating as a dancer "she might go way to be back of the tent [apparently the dance lodge] and dance just like her son was doing, not making fun."

*796 608 The Fly Dancers would choose their ceremonial grandfathers from among the older men. The young fellow wishing to join the dance would fill a pipe, go with it to an old timer, and offer it to him saying: "Here is the pipe. You will be my grandfather." If the old man accepted, he would instruct the candidate in all the rites and observances of the dance and would perform the other functions therein to be noted presently. At the last Fly Dance held [circa 1907] two young fellows, Mark Black Crow and Jerry Bear, came together to Coming Daylight's husband, Warrior, and offered him a pipe, which he accepted, thereby agreeing to act as their grandfather.[27] Cora Chandler's uncle, Sits-in-the-middle, had been "boss" of a Fly Dance which she had witnessed one Fourth of July when she was still of school age, probably this last one held.

*796 According to The Boy, the Fly Dance lasted only one day. As our informants had been eye-witnesses of this dance, it is probable

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[26] These exceptions occurred after the breakdown of the ceremonial cycle. [R.F.]

[27] In 1948 The Boy explained that in this Dance a group of boys—even more than four—could have the same ritual grandfather. [R.F.]

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The chief vower and her associate dancers had no ceremonial grandfathers but each one had a ceremonial grandmother, an old woman "who had retired and reached end of the road."

The chief vower would take a pipe filled with tobacco, offer it to an old woman, so requesting her to be grandmother and to be the "boss" and "manager" of the dance. This latter woman was in charge of the dance and told the others what to do, and was said to "make the dance for" the chief vower. The dance was held so often that all the dancers knew what was to come next, but nevertheless they would await instructions from the "boss." On one occasion when Coming Daylight was a "calf," the chief vower was a very old woman, Digger, at one time married to Crow Bull, and the "boss" was Matter-in-the-ear. After the latter had "made the dance for" Digger, the latter could "make it for" some other woman. On another occasion, a woman named Hairy Woman (born with lanugo) was "boss." According to Coming Daylight, the "boss" was called "grandmother" by all the women dancers.

The women dancers were considered as buffalo "cows," and as "mothers" to the "calves." One of the old women dancers played the role of buffalo "bull."

The "calves" were very young girls, not necessarily "dearly-loved" children, although there was a certain preference for them. There could be more than one girl "calf" for each dance. In one of the two dances in which Coming Daylight was a "calf," there were four girl "calves," all of them associated with the "shorts," and one boy "bull calf." The "talls" on this occasion could get no "calf" as they were too poor to give things away, as was *de rigueur*, for the "calves." "Dearly-loved" children were preferred for the reason that their people would usually be in a position to make such presents.

When Coming Daylight was asked to take the part of a "calf" in the Women's Dance, she was a very little girl, then living with her grandmother. Two women, apparently the two waiters or attendants, came into her grandmother's lodge. One of the two at once offered Coming Daylight a big pipe, stem first, filled with tobacco mixture. She did not take it right away as she did not know what the action meant. The woman said to her: "Take it. We

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it up right away?' My husband said, 'Let it bleed,' because he was afraid it would be sore if it didn't bleed. So when the old man thought it had bled enough, he chewed some big-leaf sage, made a poultice, and put it on my finger (and/or "sprinkled powdered root on my finger," she added later). It healed quickly and never troubled me. . . . We had to give the old man something for doing that. . . . My daughter lived to be a young woman."

Self-torture out on the hills,—"sacrifice alone on hills," as it was called,—had much in common with self-torture at the Sacrifice Dance. The chief difference was that, unlike the Sacrifice Dance torture rite, it was done in solitude. The self-torturer had to have a ritual grandfather, a man who himself had previously undergone this solitary self-torture—this in contrast to flesh and finger cutting in which there were no ritual grandfathers. The "grandfather-grandson" relationship so contracted persisted after the rite was over. Coming Daylight and The Boy were in agreement that the solitary self-torture was a more severe ordeal than self-torture at the Sacrifice Dance.

Those mentioned by our informants as having gone through "sacrifice alone on the hills" were: Stiffarm; Running Crow (Stiffarm as his "grandfather" for this rite); Coming Daylight's husband Little Man (Running Crow as his "grandfather"); her cousin White Skunk, son of Crow Bull; The Boy's brother; Jim Shortman; and perhaps Sits-in-the-Middle. On Stiffarm's, Running Crow's, and Sits-in-the-Middle's experience we obtained no details; on White Skunk's, no details beyond the fact that he underwent it "because my [Coming Daylight's] son was sick at the mission school: that son died anyway," and that he did "right on this hill here [at Hays]." The detailed accounts of Little Man's experience as narrated by Coming Daylight, of The Boy's brother's as narrated by The Boy, and of Jim Shortman's as narrated by himself, to be given now, will help to fill out the generalized picture of the rite in the preceding paragraph.

Coming Daylight's account of Little Man's "sacrifice alone on the hills," given in separate fragments on four different days, is here presented just as she gave it.

"My husband Little Man [Deafie] went out to the hills. When

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621 525 Members of one band could and not infrequently did gamble both for small and for big stakes against members of other bands, just as one kinship group used to gamble against others. Tribal we-feeling certainly existed, but seemingly not as intense as band we-feeling, just as, in turn, the latter was not as intense as kin we-feeling. / In inter-band, as in inter-kin, gambling, spectators, if they bet at all, would lay their wagers on the players of their own band, as required by band loyalty, regardless of the relative skill and reputation of the contesting players or teams.

575 [885] 525 For Gros Ventre men who had reached full adulthood and were still in the prime of life, there were two age-societies, called the Stars and the Wolves (or Wolf-men). These two groups, with soldier-police functions, would join forces when necessary in keeping order, in fighting fires, and in defending the whole tribe against enemies, but for the rest rivalry between them was pretty keen. Stars would gamble against Wolves in big games for large stakes, but ordinarily a Star would not gamble against a Star or a Wolf against a Wolf, except for refreshments or a smoke or similar trifling "stakes." Inasmuch as membership in the two societies cut across the lines of kinship and band membership, inter-society gambling suffered an important restriction: if a Star were gambling in a given game, his relatives among the Wolves would not play or bet against him in that particular game. Kinship ties took precedence over society ties.

525 648 Gros Ventre would of course gamble for big stakes against members of other tribes with whom they happened to be at the time on sufficiently good terms, or at least not bitterly and actively hostile, to meet and foregather peacefully, such as the Piegan, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Cree. In such intertribal contests they would often go out to win every possession of their opponents.

572 525 [608] The Gros Ventre distinguished three kinds of friends: ordinary friends, true or pledged friends, and enemy or war friends. As a rule ordinary close friends would not take opposite sides in a big gambling game. This was all the more true of pledged friends. Two boys, for instance, who liked each other and who had perhaps grown up together would, though belonging to different bands, enter into a sort of "sworn brotherhood," give each other presents, exchange intimate confidences, and promise, without religious rite of any kind, to stand by each other always, even to death if necessary. Two girls could also enter into a similar pact. Such "true" or pledged friends never gambled against each other either as players or as backers, at least never for stakes of value.

Of enemy or war friends we have previously spoken when describing the wheel game. Two enemy friends would gamble against each other for small stakes or big, the bigger the better. In fact a hand game for big stakes between